

APPENDIX G

**PREINSTALLATION HISTORIC OVERVIEW
SUNFLOWER ARMY AMMUNITION PLANT**



PREINSTALLATION HISTORIC OVERVIEW

EXPLORATION AND CONTACT WITH NATIVE KANSANS (1541-1825)

The general history of the preinstallation historic period of the Sunflower Army Ammunition Plant vicinity has been derived from county histories and other documents found during the research for this document (Andreas 1883; Arnold 1931; Baughman 1961; Blair 1915; Culp 1987; George Ogle and Company 1902, 1922; Gregg 1874; Hale 1854; Heisler and Smith 1874; Historic Preservation Department 1984, 1987; Litteer 1987; Miner and Unrau 1990; Phillips 1856; Rice 1975; Stuck ca. 1854; Whitman and Searl 1856). Figure I-1 shows the location of several areas mentioned in the following discussion.

The first European explorer into what would become Kansas was Francisco Casques de Coronado in 1541. Coronado's expedition included 30 mounted-soldiers, six foot-soldiers, a Franciscan friar, attendants, and pack animals. Coronado entered west-central Kansas from the southwest on a quest for gold and the legendary kingdom of Quivara (Barry 1972:1). Failing to find the reported riches, Coronado returned to Spain, and the Central Plains remained unexplored by Europeans for more than 200 years. By the late seventeenth century, the French began to explore the reaches of the Mississippi River and portions of the Missouri River, and opened the early fur trade with the Osage and other Indians. Fort Orleans was established in 1723 along the Missouri River in today's central Missouri. The fort was originally established to block anticipated Spanish encroachment, "keep peace among the Indians," and protect reported mines in the vicinity (Frazer 1988:75). The fort served as a trading post until about 1728. According to Gregg (1874:9), M. DeBourmont departed Fort Orleans to initiate a treaty with the Pawnee, Missouri, Kansa, Osage, and other tribes who were at war with one another in 1724. On another expedition that same year, DeBourmont and a detachment of 40 entered the mouth of the Kansas River and traveled to villages of the Pawnee. Reporting that he found no European goods among the Indians, he also described the tall-grass prairie as containing such a vast abundance of buffalo, elk, and deer that one could not distinguish one herd from another "so numerous and intermixed they were" (Gregg 1874:9).

Based on the explorations of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, France claimed central North America. The first settlement in what would become northeastern Kansas was a fortified trading post known as Fort Cavagnial (also Cavagnolle). The French erected the fort in 1744 near what would become Fort Leavenworth. With plans to service trade with Santa Fe, the fort included a circular palisade and a few cabins (Frazer 1988:52). Fort Cavagnial served the voyagers for a short-lived monopoly on the Missouri River fur trade and was abandoned following the 1763 Treaty of Paris (Barry 1972:23). In the secret Treaty

of Fontainebleau in 1762, France ceded claim to all the territory west of the Mississippi to Spain and its remaining claims in North America to England under the Treaty of Paris. During its tenure, Spain established garrisons along the Mississippi, but took no particular notice of Kansas (Hale 1854:163). Spain secretly returned all lands drained by the Mississippi River to France in the 1800 Treaty of Ildefonso (Self 1978:8). In return, Napoleon would provide a buffer zone between the United States and Mexico. However, with heavy losses of troops at Santa Domingo in the West Indies, Napoleon abandoned ambitions for New World settlements and sold the French interests to the United States to raise money for wars at home. With the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, the new lands more than doubled the size of the United States.

THE FORMATION OF KANSAS: INDIANS, EMIGRANT ROADS, POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY, AND THE CIVIL WAR (1825-1865)

As the expansion of American settlement continued throughout the eastern Woodlands the United States needed new lands to relocate more than 10,000 displaced Indians (Miner and Unrau 1990:6). In June 1825 the United States established a treaty with the Kansa and the Osage where both tribes ceded all claims to lands west of the State of Missouri. This treaty facilitated the removal of eastern tribes to the new territory and created what would soon become "Indian Kansas." In November 1825, a treaty was signed at St. Louis with the Shawnee to cede their lands near Cape Girardeau, Missouri, in exchange for lands in what would become part of northern Kansas. The original Shawnee Reserve covered all of Johnson and Douglas counties (including the present SFAAP lands) and portions of several surrounding counties (Blair 1915:18). According to Gregg (1874:10), the first group of Shawnee to enter the area was the Fish band (numbering about 100) named after its leader. Fish eventually settled near Eudora (Gregg 1874; Stuck ca. 1854) and erected a hotel about two miles west of SFAAP (Whitman and Searl 1856). In 1832, remaining Shawnee bands were moved to northeastern Kansas from their lands in Missouri and Ohio. During the same year, traders and whiskey peddlers reportedly introduced smallpox along the Missouri River that claimed approximately 3,000 Pawnee or about half the tribe (Hyde 1974:189), no less than 300 Kansa (Unrau 1971:150), and uncounted numbers of Otoe, Omaha, Missouri, and Puncah (Hale 1854:50). Congress passed a law in 1832 allowing Indian agents to convene the tribes to vaccinate against smallpox that reached about 7,000 Native Americans along the Middle and Lower Missouri River (Unrau 1971:150).

For the remainder of the 1820s, the U.S. government continued to move eastern Native American populations into present-day Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska. Immigrant Indian populations from the eastern woodlands included the Ottawa, Pottawatomie, Sac-Fox, Illinois, Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Chippewa, Iowa, Miami, Munsee, Delaware, Shawnee, Seminole, Otoe, Quapaw, Kickapoo, Osage, Wyandotte, and others. With the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834 (Waldman 1985:217), those lands were officially declared Indian Territory, meaning the designated Indian lands were closed to white settlement without Indian invitation.

During the 1820s and 1830s, northeastern Kansas and the surrounding region were not settled by many white settlers; one reason that it was selected for Indian reserves. During this period many Europeans were unwilling to settle on the treeless open prairie or what was considered as the "Great American Desert" (Audubon Society 1989:45). Farmers from the eastern woodlands and Europe were accustomed to clearing trees to prepare arable farmlands. Many erroneously believed that land that did not support trees would not support crops. Major Stephen Long's expedition dubbed the prairie as the Great American Desert and stated that the whole region was particularly adapted as a range for buffalo, wild goats, and other game (Audubon Society 1989:45). It was not long however before Indian agents of the Middle Missouri River area first reported that bison populations were declining significantly as a result of Indian and white hunters during the 1830s (Isenberg 1992:227).

During the 1830s, missionaries established Baptist, Friends, and Methodist missions in what would become Johnson County. The Shawnee Baptist Mission was created in 1832; the Shawnee Methodist Mission was

built in 1830 and moved to Johnson County in 1838 along the Santa Fe Trail. Blair (1915:25-43) provides a history of the Shawnee Methodist Mission and describes the mission as quite successful. Opened in 1839, the mission's manual-training school was complete with chapel and dormitories, school-houses, blacksmith shops, wagon shops, shoemaker's shops, barns, granaries, tool houses, a saw/grist mill and brick kiln, orchards, and crop land. The school served members of the Shawnee, Delaware, Chippewa, Gros Venture, Peoria, Pottawatomie, Kansa, Kickapoo, Munsee, and Osage and slaves of the mission members. In the annual report of 1848, Superintendent Rev. William Patton wrote to the commissioner of Indian Affairs:

Here the Indians from several tribes around get a large quantity of their breadstuffs, such as flour and corn meal. But this is not the only advantage derived - the saw-mill furnishes them with lumber for building and furnishing their houses, and what is of still greater importance to them, the mills, and especially the saw-mill, offer to them inducements to industry. We purchase from the Indians all of our saw logs, our steam wood, etc., thus giving them employment and furnishing in return flour, meal, sugar, coffee, salt, and such other things, in a dry-goods line, as they or their families may need, and those things which, in many instances, they could not have without these facilities, at least to any considerable extent [quoted in Blair 1915:37].

The manual-training school was closed in 1854 and its buildings disposed of, although schooling continued at the mission until 1862 and finally abandoned in 1863 (Blair 1915:41-42). The need for missions after the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 was significantly reduced with the out-migration of Indian peoples during the late 1850s.

In 1854 the Shawnee were described as numbering about 930 individuals who occupied an area running westward from the Missouri River for 100 miles and 15 miles in width, equaling one-fifth of Massachusetts (Hale 1854:20-21). Hale and others mentioned that by 1854 many Shawnee had become good farmers, some also used slave labor. A Mr. Parkman, traveling through the Shawnee lands in the early 1850s, described the area:

We were passing through the country of the half-civilized Shawnees. It was a beautiful alternation of fertile plains and groves, whose foliage was just tinged with the hues of autumn, while close beneath them resided the neat log-houses of the Indian farmers. Every field and meadow bespoke the exuberant fertility of the soil. The maize stood rustling in the wind, matured and dry, its shining yellow ears thrust out between the gaping husks. Squashes and enormous yellow pumpkins lay basking in the sun, in the midst of their brown and shriveled leaves. Robins and blackbirds flew about the fences; and everything, in short, betokened our near approach to home and civilization [Hale 1854:116].

Miner and Unrau's (1990) *The End of Indian Kansas* explains a great deal about the demise of Indian Kansas and the exploitation of Indian peoples of the Kansas Territory. As the Indians were essentially wards of the government whose wealth was to be held in trust for their best interest, the trust system depended on the economics and ethics of its execution, and this in turn rested upon the perceptions and priorities of government officials and contractors who handled the trusts. For example, the Shawnee were paid \$66,246.23 by the U.S. government in July 1853, a debt of 20 years, for lands under a previous treaty. The Shawnee had to contract attorneys to receive the promised payments. Ewing and Thompson reportedly made this contract for 20 percent of all annuities allowed the Shawnee Chiefs. Later there was a supplemental agreement giving the two attorneys 50 percent of the proceeds from 100,000 acres of land in return for their services. The Indians paid Ewing and Thompson only \$6,340 and were in turn threatened that more required payment would be written into the 1854 treaty. This resulted in another payment of \$4,500 (Miner and Unrau 1990:72-73). Additional details of the exploitation of Indian peoples by various agents, attorneys, and "Indian Rings" representing the trusts are presented in Miner and Unrau (1990).

The combined forces of immigration, commerce, and expansion that were formative in the 1825 treaties continued to impact the new Indian lands regardless of the promises of permanence. Even before the first treaties were signed, the interest in trade with the southwest assured that a trail would be made to support commerce between the southwest and the east coast. In 1802 James Pursley had forged his way to New Mexico, followed thereafter by various traders between Booneville, Missouri and Santa Fe (Gregg 1874:9). In August 1825, President Monroe authorized a road to be established from Missouri to New Mexico. Among others, a treaty was established with the Osage for the sum of \$500 to allow the United States to survey and build a road through their territory, and Major Sibley was employed to survey and establish the Santa Fe wagon road (Blair 1915:55). The Santa Fe Trail passed through the 1825 Shawnee Reserve in Johnson County, six miles south of SFAAP. In the years that followed:

During the summer months long trains of wagons drawn by ten or twelve mules, or from six to eight yokes of oxen, driven by Mexicans, would come in, often loaded with wool, pelts, &c., and return with dry goods, groceries, hardware and all else needed in the mountains and territories. According to a record kept at Council Grove, by Hayes & Co., in 1860 there were engaged in the trade during that year 5,984 men; 2,170 wagons; 364 horses; 5,933 mules; 17,836 oxen. The wagons were loaded on an average with 5,500 pounds each, making an aggregate of six thousand tons. The capital employed in carrying on the transportation for this season alone was not far from two millions of dollars [Gregg 1874:10].

The Santa Fe Trail was soon supported with military forts and trading posts. Fort Leavenworth was built in 1827 on the west bank of the Missouri River, initially to protect the Santa Fe Trail. Fort Leavenworth eventually became the general depot from which supplies were sent to all military posts of the Rocky Mountains Area during the 1850s and 1860s (Frazer 1988:56).

Activity in the Pacific Northwest and California stimulated the need for an Oregon and California Road. The Missouri Fur Company had discovered the South Pass through the Rocky Mountains in 1810, and in 1812 a group of Astorians followed what would become the Oregon Trail (Beck and Haase 1989:32). Traveling about 2,000 miles from the mouth of the Kansas River to Oregon City, the Oregon Trail separated from the Santa Fe Trail in Johnson County (six miles south of SFAAP). The trail then turned due north from the fork and proceeded into the present SFAAP facility, crossing Section 36 and a portion of Section 25 (T13S, R21E), before turning to the northwest and heading into Douglas County (see Figure I-5). The Oregon Trail was first commercially traveled by the Bidwell-Bartleson Company's caravan of 58 settlers in 1841 and soon became one of the most well-known emigrant trails of the nineteenth century.

That was the beginning, a mere trickle. The so-called Great migration took place two years later, when 875 farmers went to Oregon and another 38 went to California. Then it became a small stream, with as many as 4,000 going west in 1847, when it was learned the unpleasantness with Mexico was over. The shocking tragedy of the Donner Party during the winter of 1846-47 dissuaded no more than a few. By the end of 1848, 11,500 had moved to the West Coast. They were sending letters back to the home folks urging them to come too. They said the danger of the Indians along the way had been vastly exaggerated—that was true. They said the trip would be easy—that wasn't. Usually the advice was sound and the expansion of the truth was harmless [Franzwa 1990:2].

The first map of the Oregon Trail was based on the 1842-1844 field notes of Captain J. C. Fremont (Pruess 1846). Shortly thereafter, a variety of trail guides were published to advise the prospective emigrants in the purchase and maintenance of wagons, livestock, provisions, and other assorted considerations along with directions and complete itineraries (Child 1852; Hastings 1846; Horn 1852; Johnson and Winters 1846; Marcy 1859; Whitton Towne & Company 1858). By 1859, an average of 10 graves marked each mile of the trail (National Geographic 1988:194). Beck and Haase (1989:32) report that from its beginnings in 1834 until the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, some 350,000 people used the trail en route to Oregon and California and another 40,000 made their way to Utah. The U.S. Congress memorialized

the Oregon Trail as a National Historic Trail in 1978. Additional descriptions of day-to-day travel, historical anecdotes, and related information are available in Franzwa (1990), Friends of Museums (n.d.), Hill (1992), Marcy (1859), and others.

As the emigrant trails continued to extend European settlement into the west, expansion continued to influence the "Indian Lands." In September 1851 at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, a treaty that continued to divide the American west into discrete, arbitrary Indian lands was negotiated with provisions for continued, unrestricted transit rights along the main trails for white emigrants and freighters and the creation of military forts. According to David Lavender's (1965:325) *The Great West*, this was a fatal treaty for the Native Americans as it ultimately segregated the Indians into different areas and greatly diminished their collective political power. The result of this treaty was that when settlers eventually demanded additional lands, negotiators were able to "whittle it away first from one tribe and then another without arousing concerted resistance" (Lavender 1965:325). At the time of its signature, however, the effect of the 1851 treaty was not entirely obvious. To those familiar with European settlement the treaty was cause for concern.

Lavender (1965) argues that some of the Eastern tribes including the Wyandotte, Pottawatomie, Delaware, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Miami, and others relocated to eastern Kansas had already experienced the pressures of continued white immigration and had been repositioned repeatedly. For example, the Shawnee had spent most of the eighteenth century moving throughout the Mid-Atlantic, Piedmont, and neighboring regions from one reserve to another (Kent 1989; Mayer-Oakes 1955; Wallace 1981). Many Indians had also learned much of the white ways, values, and, as explained, the court system. Having learned to worship in Christian churches, practice farming, and govern themselves with written codes of law:

. . . they (the Indians) next decided to embrace white neighbors as well, hoping that an influx of land-hungry settlers would raise the values of the Indian holdings. This meant turning their section of the Indian country into a territory so that the Federal government would open it to settlement. Once a territory had been formed, those Indians who so desired could become citizens of the United States (as some Creeks and Cherokee in the South already had), take over private ownership of their shares of the communal lands, and, by assuming responsible roles under the new white man's government, avoid being sent into exile once again [Lavender 1965:326].

The idea for creating a new territory won some attention with the U.S. Indian Department and various private citizens and was rapidly seized by promoters of a planned central railroad to the Pacific. Thus, the Nebraska Territory was proposed in 1853. Immediately thereafter the question of its slavery status was raised. Most recently, California had become a free-state under the Compromise of 1850, and the South was not ready for another slave-free territory.

As written, the original Nebraska Bill had assumed that the territory would be free soil. After all, the earlier Missouri Compromise (1820) had exempted only Missouri from antislavery laws that restricted slavery to the south of 36 degrees 30 minutes latitude (Missouri's southern border).

It has appeared from the whole experience of the United States, that there is scarcely any disposition on the part of emigrants from Europe, or from the Northern States, to move into regions where the institution of slavery is permitted. Free labor will not place itself side by side with slave labor, and the great preponderance of northern and foreign emigration has always been to the free-states and territories of the northwest . . . No single man or single family, unwilling to enter a slave State, would trust themselves, unsupported, in a territory which would become one [Hale 1854:216-17].

Because the subject of slavery between 1830 and 1860 was so hotly contested, the proposal of any new territory inevitably raised the issue of its status. In the North, the active abolitionist crusade was stimulated by the Second Great Awakening's evangelical movement during the early nineteenth century and formed the Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. The abolitionists actively flooded the south with literature and lobbied

in Washington to emancipate the slaves. Conversely, the South relied on its slave-based cotton industry and believed that its social system of gentry and labor were not to be changed by the North's demands. Thus, as new territories of the United States were being considered the inevitable question of slavery was raised by the North and the South. "The Kansas Question" centered on whether the new territory would permit slavery (Hale 1854:217). Ultimately, the issue of slavery caused a new bill to be proposed for not one but two territories, and the Kansas and Nebraska Bill was created. The two territories would be settled under "popular sovereignty." Popular sovereignty, or "squatter sovereignty" was first proposed in 1847 whereby the U.S. government tolerated slavery in new territories until the final question of its legal status would be answered by the territorial settlers when they applied for statehood. This was embodied in both the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Nebraska would likely become a "free-soiler" territory and Kansas would become a slaveholder territory if so voted by the inhabitants themselves (Lavender 1965:329).

Thus, out of the creation of the new territory initiated by Indian proponents, the Kansas Territory started the "whittling" of Indian lands in 1854 with the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, or the "Organic Law" of the new territories (Phillips 1856:20). With the establishment of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Kansas became an arena in which to test two principal issues that remained to be resolved in the ever-growing United States: the issue of slavery and what to do about the Indians.

In short, Kansas at mid-century was a moral testing ground, and as a number of scholars have already demonstrated, there is no better example of America experiencing a failure of institutional nerve than that afforded by the slave interests, free soil partisans, squatters of uncertain ideology, speculators, and bureaucrats who confronted one another in Kansas Territory in the period immediately preceding the Civil War.

But if the invaders of Kansas Territory faced one problem above all the rest in terms of its immediacy and intransigency, it was Indians—those troublesome Native Americans who seemed to retreat in response to the white man's advance, only to regroup and once again appear on the horizon [Miner and Unrau 1990:2].

The prospect of new settlement also brought new treaties with the Indians. In March 1854, treaties were signed with the Otoe, Missouri, Kickapoo, Kaskaskia, Weasteorua, Pinckashaw; and in May with the Delaware, Shawnee, Sac, and Fox (Phillips 1856:23). The treaties generally ceded all but a limited portion of the lands of the tribes. In the case of the Shawnee, the new reserve was reduced to 160,000 acres and each Shawnee family had 90 days after the approval of the United States General Land Office (USGLO) survey to select 200 acres for each member. The completion of the GLO survey was required prior to establishing any formal land claim (Grim 1985; USGLO 1855). The practice of settling on lands prior to a survey or formal claim was and is referred to as "squatting."

SFAAP lies entirely within the 160,000-acre Shawnee reserve of 1854. The land claims made by Shawnee families were filed at the Indian Land Agent's Office and were recorded on the Stuck Maps of the Shawnee Reservation (ca. 1854). These land claims were concentrated within the timbered vicinity of Kill and Spoon creeks on the eastern portion of SFAAP and Captain Creek on the west edge of the facility (see Figure I-5). At the time of these Indian claims, white settlement was to be limited to those intermediate lands that had not been claimed, or would otherwise require purchase directly from the Indians themselves.

About the same time that the Shawnee families were selecting their claims, squatters were arriving and establishing their claims on a "bowie knife and revolver basis" as there was no legal means of establishing claims by white settlers (Phillips 1856:14). Gates (1966) and others have pointed out that one of the most complicating factors of the "Kansas struggle" was that the territory was opened to white settlement when none of the land was legally available to sell. This occurred "at a time when there was emerging one of the most complex and confusing arrays of policies affecting the distribution of the public lands and the

transfer to white ownership of Indian land-rights that has emerged in the continental United States, save perhaps Oklahoma" (Gates 1966, quoted in Miner and Unrau 1990:3). As there was no established system in place to convert the lands, exchange fees, and maintain law and order, the discretions of individual Indian land agents, government land agents, politicians, railroad promoters, sheriffs, traders, attorneys, judges, Federal officials, businessmen, and others played heavily in early Kansas (Miner and Unrau 1990). Combined with the nation's unresolved issue of slavery, the climate of late 1850s Kansas was tense, sometimes violent, and unpredictable.

Many came to Kansas from the (then) "western states" of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Wisconsin without a particular agenda regarding the slave issue (Phillips 1856:64). Meanwhile both the North and South made attempts to support their respective causes. The New England Aid Company vowed to send enough free-soiler squatters to gain control of the government. Books, such as Hale's (1854) *Kansas and Nebraska: the History, Geographical and Physical Characteristics, and Political Position of Those Territories; an Account of the Emigrant Aid Companies, and Directions to Emigrants*, were published to inform potential settlers of the territorial conditions. Likewise, as Kansas lay adjacent to Missouri, Southern leaders expected to occupy it quickly, establish a government, and create a slave State. As soon as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was signed, squatters crossed the border and the Frontier of Kansas was opened. The first Emigrant Aid party, a group of 29, founded the antislavery town of Lawrence. Seven hundred Emigrant Aid settlers followed by year's end with another 900 to follow in 1855 (Lavender 1965:331). Lawrence, Topeka, and Manhattan each became aligned with the North.

The cabins of squatters had begun to dot the face of the country, and the music of the pioneer's axe was ringing amongst the timber that shaded the water-courses of Kansas. A code of "Squatter Laws" was adopted, which had application to the valley of the Kaw, and in which mutual assistance was pledged to sustain the "claims" taken, in the absence of other means of legalizing these inchoate titles [Phillips 1856:27].

As the Emigrant Aid and other settlers began to settle the countryside, so too did the South establish its interests. The South had won several victories in Congress, had the support of then President Franklin Pierce, and already maintained the territorial proximity to affect its influence. Missourians, many of whom maintained farms at home, crossed the river to establish claims. In order to request a claim, settlers were required to erect a house and use the land for a period of time. Many Missourians, or "Pukes" (Phillips 1856:28), simply arrived long enough to carve a notch in a tree or to cut some logs by way of claim. Many others did establish homes, and Leavenworth, Atchison, Leecompton (Arnold 1931:64), and Lexington became slavery towns. Leavenworth and Atchison became outfitting points for the emigrant trails. Leecompton soon became the headquarters for pro-slavery people and served as the territorial capital for several years (Arnold 1931:64).

In the *History of Kansas*, Andreas (1883:626) points out that the first territorial legislature was convened in 1853, before the Kansas Territory was organized. One of the first acts of the territorial legislature was to organize the territory into counties and create bills for the laying out of towns. Initially, no bills were passed for towns in Johnson County as it was then entirely within the Shawnee Reserve. Nevertheless, the county officers and sheriff were appointed, two years before any of the land could come into the market. The town site of Lexington was claimed in October 1855 (Indian Land Office Records). Lexington covered 320 acres within the northeast ¼ of Section 7 and the northwest ¼ of Section 8, Township 13 South, Range 22 East within the present SFAAP facility near the main gate (see Figure I-5). However, Andreas (1883:640) points out that the first homestead was not built until March 1857 and the town site of Lexington was laid out during the same year. A two-story hotel was erected in 1858, burned in 1859, and rebuilt in 1860 (Andreas 1883:640). The hotel serviced a daily stage from Kansas City to Lawrence (Blair 1915:157) and served as the Indian supply office on certain days of the week (Culp 1987). Lexington also included a post office (1857-1864), a general store, blacksmith shop and a few houses (Culp 1987; Steed 1973). The town was eventually abandoned in 1864, and the parcel was purchased by Hugh Penner, a local farmer who

maintained the hotel until his death in 1894. According to Culp (1987:14), the hotel stood until about 1919 when it was torn down. De Soto, located about one mile north of the facility was formed as an antislavery community when the county was otherwise dominated by pro-slavery forces. Laid out in 1857, De Soto soon boasted a saw/grist mill, a few homes, a Methodist church, a Presbyterian church, stores, a smithy, a wagon maker, and its own hotel (Andreas 1883:641). The De Soto post office was established in 1860 (Blair 1915:156).

As the USGLO surveys were being completed between 1855-1857, certain enterprising speculators were able to purchase field notes from the surveyors and information concerning Indian claims from the Shawnee chiefs. This information allowed speculators to show claims, for a fee of \$10 to \$25 to prospective squatters before it became public information in 1857 (Blair 1915:87).

Governor Andrew H. Reeder, a Pennsylvania Dutchman, arrived in the territory and immediately began a tour of the eastern territory. After completing his tour, he announced the first election would be held in Kansas to delegate a Territorial Congress some four months after the territory was opened. According to Arnold (1931:67) and others, most of the settlers were busy erecting homes and preparing for winter. The Missourians, though not actual citizens of the territory, were more responsive. The Blue Lodge or "Sons of the South," represented by some 1,700 men (Phillips 1856:43-45), organized into separate companies and crossed the border to dominate the election. Well-armed, they outnumbered the legal voters in many precincts and took possession of the polls. Election judges who refused to accept their votes were removed by the Blue Lodge and replaced with more sympathetic magistrates. Their mission was to install pro-slavery men, who would extend slavery to Kansas, and to form a union of all the friends of the institution and remove the abolitionists (Phillips 1856:45). With a mind to lynch, hang, tar and feather, or drown the "white-livered abolitionists," these "border ruffians" were not to be ignored. The second election was set for March 30, 1855 and a census counted about 3,000 voters. This time the settlers were interested and ready, anticipating the Missourians who numbered over 5,000 and came armed with pistols, rifles, shotguns, and bowie knives and flying their own flags to the polling places (Arnold 1931:68; Phillips 1856:75). A complete account of the election day's events and the details of election fraudulence are provided in Phillips' (1856) *The Conquest of Kansas* . . . written the following year. The legislature that ultimately seated itself into power was recognized as the "Bogus Legislature." Free-state proponents demanded the Governor call for a new election, while Missourians defiantly entered his office with threats to his life if he complied. Not long afterward, Governor Reeder was removed from office and replaced with Daniel Woodson, former Secretary followed by Wilson Shannon both of whom approved the acts of the pro-slavery Congress. The free-state proponents eventually formed their own State constitution and petitioned for statehood which was denied. Simply stated, troubles that had their origin at a national scale were brewing fiercely in the Kansas Territory. Most of the incidents described below took place within a 30-mile radius of Lawrence (Arnold 1931:90).

Today, the incidents of violence that ensued within territorial Kansas may be overestimated, although the acts of cruelty and the climate of tension were very real (Arnold 1931; Gregg 1874; Litteer 1987; Phillips 1856). The "Wakarusa War" of 1855 was one of the early events that occurred. Lawrence prepared itself after receiving warnings on 30 November that border ruffians planned to lay siege to the city (Litteer 1987). Houses became temporary barracks, rifle pits and battle revetments were prepared, sentries were posted, and passwords and countersigns were distributed to the loyal free-state members. A twelve-pound howitzer was smuggled in from Kansas City, and two ladies smuggled two kegs of gunpowder and Sharps rifle caps beneath the very inspection of the vanguard posed for the attack (Phillips 1856:208). In all, 600 men prepared to defend Lawrence, while 1,500 of "Jones Army" gathered on the Wakarusa River south of town. The ruffians rifled local cabins, and stole horses and cattle. Ultimately there were very few casualties, those being primarily from arguments out on the roads. Though the Wakarusa incident closed peacefully in December, the winter of 1855-1856 brought heavy snows and harsh conditions. A few skirmishes occurred including one at Easton and more violence was imminent. Federal troops were requested of the Secretary of War to reinforce the Bogus Legislature, and a few antislavery prisoners, many being prominent

citizens, were taken. A few incidents of tar and feathering also occurred. Sheriff Jones, a pro-slavery man, was shot late at night in a dragoon camp by what appeared to be an attempt to implicate the free-state folk of Lawrence. Though Jones recovered, the Missouri papers lauded his memory. Meanwhile, the genuine and bogus politicians and sheriffs postured, and tempers flared.

The ruffians returned to the Lawrence area whilst "pressing" all the horses belonging to free-state men that could be found. Cattle were taken, rifles and handguns seized, drums were beaten, and men were mustered for the cause. A few isolated incidents passed, occasionally with shots fired though often without casualty. Lawrence was resigned to the position that passive resistance would rob their oppressors of any justification for violence. This time, Lawrence did not defend itself as the tensions escalated during the spring of 1856.

On May 21, 1856, General Atchison and the Kickapoo Rangers crossed the Kaw River at Lecompton armed with orders from the Federal court, two pieces of field artillery, and pro-slavery forces. Additional pro-slavery forces consisting of Missourians, Carolinians, Alabamians, and Georgians armed with Mississippi rifles, two additional cannons, pistols, and the obligatory bowie knives had gathered during the previous days. Much of the town's citizenry fled. Assembling on Mount Oread, where the University of Kansas stands today, a red flag bearing the inscription "Southern Rights" was unfurled as Deputy Marshals entered Lawrence and arrested a general and a judge. Waiting forces plundered a few homes. That afternoon the forces advanced, looted the town presses, and held a bonfire in the street. The hotel was robbed of furniture, liquor stock and cigars; emptied of people; and fired upon with a field cannon. Though the first ball missed, some 50 rounds were eventually fired, four powder kegs added and failing that, the building was finally set afire by the torch. More mob-pillaging was inspired by the flames and Governor Robinson's house was similarly rendered. The sacking of Lawrence took over 200 horses, pillaged many of the houses and caused an estimated loss of \$150,000 of property (Phillips 1856:289-309). On the following day John Brown, a free-man proponent who disagreed with the position of nonresistance took a small force to Pottawatomie Creek, a pro-slavery settlement. Five pro-slavery settlers were killed in what was described as the "Pottawatomie Massacre" (Arnold 1931:79). Many on both sides decried the violence and some of the pro-slavery members left the region. Nevertheless, the next four months brought numerous incidents of violence that has since been recorded as "Bloody Kansas." Guerilla warfare consisting of surprise attacks on roadsides was among the more common strategies conducted by armed bands (of both sides) that roamed the general countryside.

The military was soon called, partially because the Governor feared that the people of Lawrence would attack those at Lecompton who had precipitated in the sacking of their community. Though martial law was not enacted, dragoon camps dotted the landscape. Governor Shannon marshaled a force of a dozen well-armed dragoons and began a house-to-house search of pro-slavery advocates for the purpose of removing arms, particularly Sharps rifles. The "Battle of Black Jack," a skirmish along the headwaters of Captain's Creek, occurred near Baldwin City south of SFAAP. Other incidents of harassment, humiliation, and beatings of free-state advocates, including ecumenical members, were common. When word of the atrocities returned to the northern states, public meetings abounded; monies, bibles, and rifles gathered; and a new migration initiated. Speaking of the times:

No time was ever so minutely and so indelibly photographed upon the public retina. The name of no state was ever on so many friendly and so many hostile tongues. It was pronounced in every political speech, and inserted in every political platform. No region was ever so advertised, and the impression then produced has never passed away [Arnold 1931:80].

In response to the actions of the free-states, Missourians closed the Missouri River to free-state immigration, arrested or turned back travelers, and confiscated merchandise. New routes were established through Iowa and Nebraska. Meanwhile Topeka and Lawrence lay under a state of siege as pro-slavery men guarded all the roads leading out of the towns. The guards lived off supplies liberated from surrounding farmsteads. In turn, free-state guerrillas continued to seize the supplies of pro-slavery settlers. Soon the "Army of the

North" consisting of several hundred new settlers arrived and a "Pro-slavery Army" gathered along the border. The town of Osawatomie, "headquarters of old Brown" who led free-state forces, was burned. Governor Shannon was run from office with pressure from both sides and Governor Geary arrived with the following description of the region:

I reached Kansas and entered upon the discharge of my official duties in the most gloomy hour of her history. Desolation and ruin reigned on every hand; homes and firesides were deserted; the smoke of burning dwellings darkened the atmosphere; women and children, driven from their habitations, wandered over the prairies and among the woodlands, or sought refuge even among the Indian tribes. The highways were infested with numerous predatory bands, and the towns were fortified and garrisoned by armies of conflicting partisans, each excited almost to a frenzy, and determined upon mutual extermination. Such was, without exaggeration, the condition of the Territory at the period of my arrival [Arnold 1931:83].

The violence also came to the Indian lands. During this season of violence, Shawnee Agent William Gay was shot within sight of his agency headquarters. With timber rights, town site claims, and much of the prime land in Indian hands, Osage River Agent Maxwell McCaslin said that the Shawnee were under a "reign of terror" and requested that squatters be removed from Indian land claims by the military (Miner and Unrau 1990:16).

The summer of "Bleeding Kansas" was soon brought to a close with the help of the new governor. The first order of business was to disband the militia that attempted to force slavery into the territory, followed by the installation of his personally selected territorial militia (Litteer 1987:66). Many of the pro-slavery territorial officials disregarded Geary's orders. Another skirmish occurred at Hickory Point in Johnson County. Word came of another approaching attack on Lawrence and Geary took 300 troops and four cannon to defend the city. The city was surrounded with a force of 2,700 facing a defending citizenry of 300. Geary entered the ruffians' camp and, threatened with assassination, requested that the ruffians disband and return to their homes as their actions of looting and ransacking were unlawful acts. The forces acquiesced and returned to Missouri though reportedly murdering, burning, stealing, and despoiling the countryside along the way (Litteer 1987:68). Eventually both sides ceased to plunder the settlers and tensions calmed for a period. Another raid from Missouri resulted in the Marais des Cygnes Massacre in Linn County in which five men were killed and five wounded in May 1858. Later that year, with lawlessness "virtually over," the settlers dropped the terms of pro-slavery and free-state and joined the national political parties (Arnold 1931:91). By 1859, it was widely accepted that Kansas would become a free-state and the new constitution so indicated and so approved by the citizenry. Kansas was formally accepted into the Union in late January 1861, about the same time that other states were seceding from the Union.

The violence however did not end for the Indians. As mentioned, many of the Indian claims had selected the timbered land. Consequently, many of the prairie settlers were left without resources for fencing and fuel. In 1858 several Shawnee were killed while trying to protect their timber. The intruding settler scoffed at the idea that the Indians could stop him since they could not produce the maps of the tracts that had been claimed by Shawnee members (as they had not been presented to the Shawnee). Shortly thereafter, a group of young Shawnee burned the houses of squatters in the vicinity of the earlier violence (Miner and Unrau 1990:51).

To overcome the difficulty the settlers adopted a thoroughly western mode of procedure, by going upon the Indian tracts and cutting whatever they wanted without leave or license. The Indians submitted for awhile, but finally concluded to stop it. To this end complaint was lodged against D.O. Cook of Spring Hill. He was arrested and brought to Olathe for trial. On the day of the trial the settlers from many miles around gathered in the number of two or three hundred. When the court opened the presiding officers were politely informed that Cook could not be tried by that court, and his release was the only

alternative. The court saw the point, and the prisoner was discharged. This settled the prosecution business and from that day on (summer 1859), Indian tracts were carefully divested of all growing timber by the enterprising sovereigns [Gregg 1874:17, emphasis added].

Temporary peace (among whites) came to Kansas about the time of the 1859-1860 drought which lasted for 16 months and wrought havoc on the already depleted resources of the settlers. In the fall of 1860, nearly one-third of the claims were abandoned and many left the territory. Aid came from the east with provisions, clothes, and seed wheat. Nevertheless, those who returned to the east discouraged others from heading to Kansas and rekindled impressions of Kansas as the Great American Desert, a popular misconception. This misinformation reportedly caused a temporary decline in immigration (Arnold 1931:100).

When the Civil War began at Fort Sumter, Charleston, North Carolina, on April 12, 1861, Kansas had already been struggling for almost seven years with similar issues. Nevertheless, Kansas sent more soldiers than any other State in the Union and ultimately suffered more casualties. Twenty-thousand Kansans joined, and their families who remained suffered as the result. From Johnson County, 500 men enrolled in the Thirteenth regiment, 50 in Company C of the Second Kansas infantry, and others in Company F of the Fourth regiment (Arnold 1931:186).

The war came to Kansas first with the return of lawlessness that, according to Blair (1915), was particularly severe in the vicinity of Jackson County north of the Kansas River. There, according to Blair's (1915) *History of Johnson County, Kansas*, theft was commonplace, murder was typical, and pillage reigned under the terror of bands of thieves who carried flags during organized daylight raids and separated to pillage for personal profit under cover of night. Under the climate of conflict, settlers accordingly attempted to protect their property of "every description" by caching among underbrush, rocks, and cliffs; weapons were stashed in trees; and horses (most often stolen property) were often tethered in cornfields or thickets (Blair 1915:191). Gregg's (1874) *History of Johnson County* suggests that Johnson County did not fare much better albeit without quite so many murders. Given the outcome of the war and the decided pro-Unionist perspective of the historians who were published on the subject, few details of marauding Unionists or "jayhawkers" are available. Among the documented Unionist bands were the "Red Legs" who reportedly raided known Missouri enemies, though "none of the quiet citizens" (Gregg 1874:21).

George Searcy was a particularly notorious thief around Jackson County who eventually headquartered in Johnson County where he was caught with horses, cattle, and other stolen spoils and ultimately hanged. William Quantrill's "Confederate" raids throughout northeastern Kansas were similar. Starting with about half a dozen men, Quantrill's (also Quantrell) band eventually grew to about 400. He favored the routing of Union members of the Twelfth Kansas whose homes he frequently raided and whose bodies were often found along the roads. His raid on Olathe, the Johnson County seat (located seven miles east of SFAAP), plundered the stores, destroyed one of two printing presses, took all the available horses, and (oddly) any photographs of young women they encountered in September 1862. So much was seized that the stolen wagons and horses could not hold all the plunder and more teams were confiscated from the surrounding countryside to haul it away (Gregg 1874:23). Being so close to the Missouri border and left generally unguarded, some of Olathe's citizenry moved away, others joined the Army "preferring its safety," and most of the town's homes and businesses were temporarily vacated (Gregg 1874:24). Six weeks after the Olathe raid, Quantrill's forces of an estimated 150 men entered the town of Shawnee, corralled the townspeople, looted businesses and houses, and set fires that ultimately claimed 14 houses and the hotel.

In February 1863, Spring Hill was raided by a small force of 10 bushwhackers directed by Quantrill's second in command. The post office and store were ransacked. Bushwhackers continued summer raiding and retreated to Blue, Tomahawk, Coffey, and Indian creeks in the eastern portions of Johnson County where they could escape detection (see Figure I-1). Speaking of his own journeys through the county that summer, Gregg described the situation in Johnson County as:

Nothing more depressing could be imagined than a ride through the country designated, that summer. The majority of houses were empty, the fences down and the fields overgrown with weeds; no travelers were seen on the roads, no cheery whistle of farmer-boy, or crack of teamster whip, none of the ordinary sounds of healthful farm-life - only the desolating marks of war and the stillness of danger. The few citizens remaining had the guarded air and watchful, suspicious glance of men who carried their lives in their hands. Even the dogs seemed to know and feel the change, and instead of meeting the stranger with noisy demonstrations, would lie crouched in the grass, or skulk away to favorite hiding places with a look of distrust almost human in its expressiveness. It was not a cheerful summer's work by any means, and the assessor was not at all proud of the official greatness thrust upon him [Gregg 1874:25].

In late summer Quantrill returned to Johnson County en route to Lawrence. Caught unaware, Lawrence's townspeople were raided for about four hours on 21 August 1863. In the aftermath there were many dead, some 200 buildings burned (Lavender 1965:366), and an estimated \$2 million worth of losses (Arnold 1931:105). On the return to Missouri, Quantrill's band continued to burn farmhouses and barns along the way. Upon reaching Lawrence as the bushwhackers were leaving, Gregg's firsthand account stated:

It was a noticeable fact that though hundreds of widows and orphans were standing by murdered husbands and fathers sobs and groans of grief were rarely heard. The horrors of this scene can never be described. In some places the bodies lay in groups as though they had been shot down while seeking a shelter together, and again singly - here an old gray headed man whose lease on life but short at best; there a smooth faced clerk who might have been supposed asleep but for the round hole in the forehead; in one place a father and his boy, and at another three brothers lay side by side. Every emotion was depicted from the closed lids and smiling expression, to the wide staring eyes, with horror and despair marked in every lineament. The writer while hunting for an acquaintance reported killed, inspected over two hundred bodies. Deeds of violence and murdered men were not so uncommon at that day as to cause one to shudder at the sight of blood, but at the close of the inspection a faintish sickness could not be overcome. None but fiends that the arch fiend himself might recoil from were capable of such a horrid butchery of unarmed and unoffending citizens. After a three hours stay a pursuing party was joined and line of retreat followed long enough to show the pursuit to be a farce in the broadest sense of the word [Gregg 1874:25-26].

According to Lavender (1965:366), Quantrill's forces continued southward and, disguising themselves in Federal uniforms, surprised and slaughtered 100 unsuspecting Union soldiers. Continuing this practice at remote garrisons and with runaway slaves, Quantrill's troops killed 1,000 people during 1863.

In partial response to the raid on Lawrence, General Ewing ordered all citizens of Jackson and Cass counties who lived over one mile from the military posts at Harrisonville, Hickman's Mill, Little Santa Fe, and Westport to either relocate to the forts or leave the counties altogether. These areas had served to harbor and inform bushwhackers, and the result of the order merely provided more opportunities for plunder by both sides (Gregg 1874:26). Soon Kansas formed the Fifteenth regiment and a new Union calvary comprised of soldiers and jayhawkers roamed the countryside.

In 1864 Olathe became a military post and eight to ten foot earthworks were erected in the town square and fitted with two heavy cannons. Gregg mentioned that the fortifications were defensively impractical as they were surrounded by buildings (that would protect any attackers), rendering the cannon useless, and cut off from water (Gregg 1874:26). With Confederate forces under the command of General Price threatening to invade Kansas while making their way through Arkansas and Missouri, more forces were needed to protect the Kansas border. The call was made to form the Kansas militia, a force of 16,000 (Arnold 1931:106) that became known as the "Raging Tads" and included a 500-man regiment from Johnson County.

The Kansas militia met Price's army on the Big and Little Blue rivers in western Missouri as well as Kansas City and Westport. Defeated after six hours of battle at Westport on 23 October, Price turned south and entered Kansas in Linn County and skirmishes followed at Trading Post Ford, the Mounds, and Mine Creek. His army returned to Missouri and was eventually defeated. No further attacks on Kansas were made. In April 1865 with the Confederate surrender at Appomattox, the Civil War ended.

No section of the Union had more cause to rejoice than Johnson county. Fire and blood had been its baptism in loyalty. Exposed for years to the powerful vindictive and bloodthirsty foes who knew not the meaning of honorable warfare, or honor in any sense, its citizens heroically stood their ground and with sublime faith braved all perils and dangers and faltered not [Arnold 1931:106].

PERIOD OF RURAL AND AGRICULTURAL DOMINANCE (1865-1900)

The last half of the nineteenth century was a transformational period from frontier to a diversified agricultural economy supplemented with manufacturing and industry. Initially, the population was particularly concentrated in the eastern portion of the State and included both Native American and European populations. During the 1860s and 1870s, many of the Indians were moved to Oklahoma reservations which in turn opened Kansas to more European settlement. During the late 1860s, the construction of railroads added to the influx of new immigrants and influenced the locations of towns and the settlement of the western portions of the State. This immigration was partially influenced by the end of the Civil War and lasted until about 1890.

Several factors facilitated increased migration to Kansas following the Civil War, e.g. the Homestead Act of 1862; railroad land grants; railroad development; improved farm machinery; and increased immigration of Europeans (Self 1978:25). The population of Kansas in 1860 was about 100,000 and by 1865 had reportedly reached 136,000 (Arnold 1931:107). With the Homestead Act of 1862, each homesteader (who had not borne arms against the government) could petition for a tract of 160 acres on condition of settlement, cultivation, and occupancy for a period of five years (minus years of military service). The Act provided the opportunity to acquire public lands for a nominal fee and was well received. Immigrants arrived from Europe, Illinois, Ohio, and the eastern states. According to Blair (1915:112), many were poor with barely enough funds until the first crop. Droughts came in 1869 and 1874 followed by a blight of grasshoppers that rendered the landscape to the "battlefield" condition reminiscent of 1859-1860. The hatchlings brought more grasshoppers in 1875 until they simply rose into the air and vanished off to the northwest from whence they had originated (Blair 1915:114). Kansans survived the conditions once again and received help from the eastern states for the last time (Blair 1915:112).

With the Pacific Railroad Act of 1862, the railroads were offered land parcels for each mile of track laid and loans in the form of bonds similar to that used earlier during the construction of canals and wagon roads. Since the initial Act did not stimulate sufficient action, Congress increased the land grants to 20 square miles of alternate sections making a "checkerboard pattern" 40 miles wide (Baughman 1961:73) that ultimately exchanged 131 million acres of public land for 19,000 miles of railroad (National Geographic Society 1988:103). This arrangement with the Union Pacific's Eastern Division and others allowed the companies to finance the railroad construction, maintenance, and operation. Although not detailed in the foregoing discussion, railroad companies and planners were interested in Kansas before the original Nebraska bill and supported the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854. More than four million acres were granted to the railroads in Kansas and another one-half million acre improvement grant, which was given to Kansas at statehood, was given to the railroads. Combined with railroad purchases of Indian lands, the railroad companies thus offered homesteaders public lands at \$1 to \$10 per acre with good terms and reasonable rates of interest. Land offices that promoted the sale of Kansas lands were maintained by the railroads in all the larger U.S. cities and overseas (Baughman 1961:73). These actions satisfied the private railroad investors and, with the close of the war, the building began (Athearn 1976). Johnson County raised

\$100,000 in bonds and the first railroad construction began at Kansas City in 1866, reaching Olathe in 1868 and Fort Scott by 1869 (Blair 1915:211). In 1868 the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad was started at Topeka and reached the Colorado State line by 1873. A line was built from Kansas City to De Soto by the Kansas Midland Railroad in 1874. Where Lexington had dominated local politics with the pro-slavery movement before the war, De Soto was better tied to Union supporters and ultimately got the railroad after the war. Lexington, like many other towns, was ultimately abandoned in 1864 leaving only its hotel as a local landmark, until 1919 when it too was raised (Culp 1987:14).

With rising transportation costs and declining prices, American farmers were facing difficult times. The McCormick's reaper became available during the 1860s but was so expensive that many could not afford it. The National Grange, or Patrons of Husbandry, was organized in Washington, D.C. in 1867 (Anonymous n.d.). Originally designed as a farm family fraternity, the organization was intended to promote better farming methods and to improve the intellectual and social life of America's rural farmers (Friends of Museums 1990; Smith 1940). As written, the Grange constitution prohibited political action, but farmers needed organization to improve their conditions. Many local organizations complied with the rules by simply adjourning their meetings before beginning political discussion and often supported political candidates who would work to regulate railroads and grain elevator prices. The Kansas State Grange started in 1872 and the Gardner Grange of Johnson County opened in 1873. The Lexington Grange, held at the old Lexington Hotel on the grounds of today's SFAAP, also opened in 1873 and a Grange store opened in Prairie Center sometime afterward.

Prairie Center was the second community erected on the SFAAP grounds. The town's first settlement was established in April 1871 (Andreas 1883:641). The post office was created in 1872, followed by a Friends Meeting House, a Methodist Episcopal church, and a Free Methodist church. By 1883 the town boasted a post office, one store, a smithy, woodworking shop, and about 70 citizens (Andreas 1883:641). Edwin Rice, former resident of Prairie Center until the creation of SFAAP, wrote a manuscript of his recollections of the community in 1975. A map of the town ca. 1941 that was presented in his manuscript has been redrafted in Figure I-6. The Rice map shows one school, a creamery/machine shed, cider mill, two stores, a smithy, service station, Friends Church, Friends parsonage, Methodist Church, and 13 homes. Rice (1975:1) suggests the town was created in about 1869 and that the population normally ranged from 30 to 50 people. Though not a professional historian, Rice's manuscript provides an informative portrayal of life in the community replete with a variety of photographs and rural anecdotes of the 25 years or so prior to its acquisition by the Army. Many other towns of kind were not documented and remain only in the memories of their former citizens or as brief entries in such manuscripts as "Ghost Towns of Johnson County, Kansas" (Steed 1973).

During the late 1860s and early 1870s, the Marsh Harvester became nationally popular among the larger farm operations supplanting many of the earlier reapers and headers (Rogin 1931:107). However, Kansas farming typically started at the subsistence level where many settlers were unable to afford such farm machinery (Historic Preservation Department 1987:66). Early farming was experimental, and along with corn, farmers planted buckwheat, sweet and Irish potatoes, fruits, tobacco, grapes, cotton, and watermelons. Cattle and pigs were also raised. Initially, a single farmer would do well to break an acre of ground a day and plow, cultivate, and fence 10 to 12 acres per year (Historic Preservation Department 1987:65). In his article *Who Was Forest Man? Sources of Migration to the Plains*, John Hudson (1986) argues that the "corn belt agricultural complex" that eventually developed throughout the Plains was carried to Kansas by immigrants from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois where it originated. During the 1880s, livestock production was high, and winter wheat proved to be a successful crop particularly in southern Nebraska and central Kansas. During the 1870s and 1880s methods of irrigation with windmills became common and influenced the siting of farmsteads to locations otherwise devoid of surface water (Baker 1989). These machines permitted many farmers an opportunity to escape the vagaries of weather and were often used with artificial reservoirs that provided suitable fish ponds and ice sources. During the 1880s, the seed drill was

introduced and by 1891 was used by farmers throughout Kansas to seed about eight to ten acres per day using the eight-foot, two horse drill machine (Rogin 1931:199, 208).

Early industries included saw and grist mills, brick yards, and stone masonry. Many small towns also supported carriage and furniture factories. Railroads, responsible for the location and success of many new towns, brought commodities and other manufactured conveniences from eastern states. By the 1890s, drought conditions took a toll on the Plains and other states that caused a depression to the local economies and significant out-migration, particularly among the western and central counties. The railroad survived and soon supported the production and maintenance of railroad cars and locomotives. Glass factories, harness and saddle-making, meat packing, and soap-and candle-making flourished during the late century. Leavenworth became a leading manufacturing center for wagons and stoves (Self 1978:169).

Though not well documented, it is likely that another short-lived industry may have included the production of charcoal from forest timber to supply fuel for glass furnaces and smithies. Coal mining did develop in the region during the late nineteenth century, though charcoal production may have been important before coal was commercially available. Likewise, limestone processing for mortars, plasters, paints, and other materials may have been produced by limekilns and related facilities prior to well-documented cement industry of southeastern Kansas. In his recent volume *200 Years of Soot and Sweat; the History and Archeology of Vermont's Iron, Charcoal, and Lime Industries*, Rolando (1992) has presented a valuable wealth of information of these nineteenth century industries that has otherwise been lost to most historians and archeologists. Similar research in Kansas may yield a variety of property types, archeological features, and historical data that has otherwise been lost.

Commercial natural gas production began in Miami County south of SFAAP in 1884 when a seven mile pipeline was laid to Paola for heating and lighting. Additional exploration encountered other gas fields in eastern Kansas during the 1880s and 1890s. As mentioned in the geology and environment appendix, natural gas also occurs in Johnson County and beneath SFAAP though its volume is insufficient for commercial production.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century also brought improved roads and bridges along with the railways. Telegraph poles traced most railroad lines, followed by telephone and electrical lines after 1900. During the 1890s, State services developed welfare institutions that included asylums, reform schools, orphanages, and special schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind. Hospitals were also created by local communities and religious groups. Public, or "common" schools, had been mandated since the 1859 Wyandotte Convention, and many of the early schools were subscription schools where communities created one-room schoolhouses and contracted and housed teachers in different community homes (Historic Preservation Department 1987:57). By 1914 there were 97 school districts with 82 one teacher schools. During the same year the average salary paid for a male teacher per month in a one-teacher school was \$64.75, while the average salary for a female teacher with the same responsibility was \$48.25 (Blair 1915:210). Two schoolhouses were documented within SFAAP, one near Prairie Center and another nearer the former community of Lexington (Heisler and Smith 1874; see Figure I-5). By 1928 another schoolhouse was added near the eastern perimeter. With the improved roads of the twentieth century and the creation of school buses after World War II, many of the one-room schoolhouses were replaced by consolidated institutions.

TIME OF CONTRASTS (1900-1939)

The State Plan (Lees 1989:74) describes the first four decades of the twentieth century as a time of contrasts. Though agriculture continued to play a major role in Kansas economics, it became more mechanized and diversified. In southeastern Kansas, industries developed the mining of zinc and coal, and continued to increase oil and natural gas production. The automobile introduced a new means of

transportation for people and commodities. World War I and the Great Depression were other significant events for Kansas as elsewhere during the period.

According to Self (1978:98), the original 160-acre homesteads were often not large enough to provide sufficient tillable land and pasture for suitable economic return. During the early twentieth century, many farms consolidated; by 1910 the average farm size was 244 acres, and by 1954 farm size had grown to 416 acres. This was also supported by the increase in improved farm machinery. Self (1978) suggests that most of the essential farm machinery had arrived in Kansas by 1900 including the steel plow, the sulky plow, the spring-tooth harrow, the grain drill, the McCormick reaper, wire binders, twine binders, threshing machines, and the combine. The tractor that eventually replaced draft animals became common after World War I. In 1915 there were 3,000 tractors in Kansas compared to 1,400,000 horses and mules. By the 1930s, there were more than 70,000 tractors in Kansas, and horses and mules had declined to about 700,000 (Self 1978:101). Other modern machinery including the corn picker, hay machines, forage harvesters, and milking machines became common in Kansas after World War II (Self 1978:101). The continued improvements in farm machinery brought new economic opportunities to those that could afford them and supported the creation of specialized farm services such as haying or harvesting. Some farmers derived their entire livelihood from providing a suite of farm services to numerous farms over large areas. Although this did not directly affect northeastern Kansas, the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 increased the amount of homestead acreage to 320 acres (Baker 1992:35) which was increased to 640 acres in 1916 (Gressley and Scolofsky 1970:112). According to Rice (1975:12), grain silos were created during the late 1910s to combat the dry season cycle and T.O. White completed the first concrete silo near Prairie Center that stood between 30 and 40 feet tall.

The first quarter of the twentieth century brought an increase in manufacturing to the larger cities of Kansas, particularly Kansas City, Topeka, Wichita, Lawrence, and Atchison. Many of the industries were small operations with fewer than 50 workers. In 1919 manufacturing employed 72,479 workers which diminished to 57,341 by 1929 (Self 1978:169). According to Culp's (1987) unpublished history of De Soto, Johnson County continued to grow after 1900 due to the interurban railroad and automobile that made the area more accessible to Kansas City. Today's cultural landscapes of suburban development formed after World War II.

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, Kansas contributed 10,000 volunteers, and after Congress passed the Compulsory Service Act, 55,000 Kansans were summoned for the effort. By the war's end, over 77,000 Kansans had entered the armed forces (Arnold 1931:132-133).

In *The Great Plains Experience; the Great Depression*, Gressley and Scolofsky (1970) discuss large-scale unemployment ravaging the country during the depression of the 1930s and the plummeting prices for farm products. Unemployment reached the Kansas farms as elsewhere, and foreclosures of small farm operations and businesses, bankruptcies, and displacement of tenant farmers were numerous. Compounded by drought, extraordinary changes in temperature, dust storms, and floods, the depression was deeply felt in Kansas as well as other states. The environmental conditions of the "Dust Bowl" included portions of western Kansas though the present study area was not so devastated.

Following Germany's invasion of Poland in September of 1939, Great Britain and France declared war. Even though World War II was an ocean away, it was not long before the United States would vote to enter the war. Life continued for the farmers until late 1939, when it was officially announced in the local paper that the Federal government had chosen the area around Prairie Center for construction of an army arsenal. The Kansas Army Ammunition Plant provided jobs for many people during the war years. Many farmer's lives were disrupted when the government purchased large tracts of land in Johnson County near De Soto and changed the agriculturally based community to one based on a war industry. During the war years, many of the local farmers temporarily gave up farming for better wages at the facility.

As consolidation of farms has increased throughout the twentieth century, many farmers have left the occupation and countless small farms have been abandoned. With an out-migration or movement to cities related to the abandonment of farms, the rural communities have changed, schools and churches consolidated, and a new cultural landscape has emerged during the twentieth century. The farmstead remains that exist on SFAAP represent a potential time capsule of rural agricultural life that existed prior to World War II and may also contain cultural deposits from earlier periods. As archeological survey and evaluation of the SFAAP cultural resources continues, it will become more evident what the condition of the historic sites is below the surface of the grasses and forest that now preside over the facility. Presently, it is not apparent whether the razing of the 1940 farm structures, the construction of the military facility, and the continued agricultural use of the landscape has destroyed or preserved subsurface cultural deposits. Such a determination will require archeological fieldwork in the form of survey and testing.



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